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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 ACDA-19 IO-13 RSR-01 OIC-04 /142 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1091

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INFO USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

USNMR SHAPE

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3717

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: NATO, PFOR

SUBJ: NPG - STUDY ON WARSAW PACT POLITICO-MILITARY STRATEGY AND
MILITARY DOCTRINE

REF: STATE 106503

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MEMORANDUM RECEIVED AUGUST 3 FROM
NETHERLANDS DELEGATION:

BEGIN TEXT: POSSIBLE OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY ON THE WP
POLITICO-MILITARY STRATEGY AND MILITARY DOCTRINE FOR THE
TACTICAL USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

1. BACKGROUND

DURING THE NPG MEETING IN MINISTERIAL SESSION ON MAY 15TH
AND 16TH 1973, MINISTERS DISCUSSED, IN THE LIGHT OF THE
RESULTS OF THE FOLLOW-ON STUDY ON THE TACTICAL USE OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS IN THE ACLANT AREA, THE NEED FOR GAINING A DEEPER
UNDERSTANDING OF WP POLITICO-MILITARY STRATEGY AND MILITARY
DOCTRINE FOR THE TACTICAL USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

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THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES WERE INVITED TO ARRANGE
FOR A STUDY ON THIS SUBJECT, TO BE PREPARED FOR MINISTERIAL
CONSIDERATION AT A FUTURE MEETING.

2. STUDY-OUTLINE

THE RESULT OF THE STUDY WILL LARGELY DEPEND ON THE EXPERTISE AND INFORMATION AVAILABLE AND PROVIDED FOR DURING THE STUDY. CONSEQUENTLY THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE STUDY CAN ONLY BE DECIDED UPON DEFINITELY AT A LATER STAGE. HOWEVER, WE THINK WE SHOULD AIM AT A REPORT IN WHICH CONCLUSIONS SHOULD BE DRAWN CONCERNING WP CONCEPTS AND DOCTRINE CURRENTLY GOVERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES. TO REACH THIS GOAL WE SUGGEST TO PROCEED ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES.

FIRST OF ALL WE SHOULD TRY TO SEEK TO DESCRIBE THE CURRENT OVERALL SOVIET POLITICAL AND MILITARY STRATEGY, WHICH CAN BE CONSIDERED TO BE THE SAME AS THE OVERALL WP STRATEGY. TO GAIN A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THIS STRATEGY WE THINK THAT SOME REVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY INCLUDING THE IMPACT OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY UPON IT, WOULD BE NECESSARY.

STARTING FROM THAT DESCRIPTION OF SOVIET (WP) OVERALL POLITICO-MILITARY STRATEGY WE MIGHT THEN DESCRIBE AND ANALYSE SOVIET (WP) OPERATIONS CONCEPTS AND DOCTRINE. THE ROLE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS BEING PART OF THE OPERATIONAL CONCEPTS AND DOCTRINE CAN BE CONSIDERED IN THIS CONTEXT. ONE ELEMENT WHICH WOULD SEEM TO DESERVE CONSIDERATION IN THE ABOVE EXERCISE, IS THE IMPACT OF THE CHINESE FACTOR ON SOVIET STRATEGY.

AS A FINAL STEP WE MIGHT TRY TO IDENTIFY WHAT CONCLUSION MIGHT BE DERIVED FROM THE STUDY CONCERNING NATO POLICY ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES, IN PARTICULAR WITH REGARD TO INITIAL AND FOLLOW-ON USE.

IT WOULD ADD TO THE USEFULNESS OF THE STUDY, IF A DEEPER
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UNDERSTANDING OF THE WP BATTLEFIELD USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ITS CONNECTED RELEASE PROCEDURES COULD BE ATTAINED. POSSIBLE ASSESSMENTS ON FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD ALSO INCREASE THE VALUE OF THE STUDY.

3. WORKING-ARRANGEMENTS

IN OUR VIEW THE STUDY COULD BE UNDERTAKEN BY A STUDY GROUP CONSISTING OF OFFICIALS AND/OR OFFICERS OF PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES ASSISTED BY ADVISORS FROM IS, IMS AND SHAPE. THE STUDY GROUP MAY WISH TO ESTABLISH SUB-GROUPS AS APPROPRIATE. IT MIGHT BE ADVISABLE THAT NPG STAFF GROUP MEMBERS OF COUNTRIES CONCERNED TAKE PART IN THE STUDY. SOME KIND

OF CO-LEADERSHIP WOULD SEEM TO BE MOST APPROPRIATE.

THE CHAIRMANSHIP AND SECRETARIAT ARRANGEMENT COULD BE
DECIDED UPON DURING THE FIRST MEETING OF THE STUDY GROUP.

FOLLOWING THE SUGGESTION THAT THE NETHERLANDS SHOULD
TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO START THE STUDY, WE PROPOSE TO
CONVENE THE FIRST MEETING IN BRUSSELS AT THE NATO HQ IN
EARLY SEPTEMBER 1973. AN AGENDA WILL BE PREPARED AND
FORWARDED BEFORE THE END OF AUGUST. SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS
COULD BE HELD ON A PRAGMATIC BASIS. BRIG. GEN. ROS, 4(NL)A,
WILL HEAD THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION AND CHAIR THE FIRST
MEETING OF THE STUDY GROUP

INDICATIONS AVAILABLE ABOUT THE POSSIBLE DATE FOR THE
15TH NPG MEETING IN MINISTERIAL SESSION, LEAD US TO THE
CONCLUSION THAT THE STUDY SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE IS
NOT LATER THAN FEBRUARY 1ST, 1974.

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4. BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE MAY BE OF
INTEREST TO THE PERSONS WHO ARE ASSEMBLING INFORMATION IN
CONNECTION WITH THE STUDY OF WARSAW PACT POLITICO-MILITARY
STRATEGY AND MILITARY DOCTRINE:

COFFEY, JOSEPH I. STRATEGIC POWER AND NATIONAL SECURITY.
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA: UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
PRESS, 1971.

DINERSTEIN, HERBERT S., GOURE, LEON AND WOLFE,

THOMAS W., EDS. SOVIET MILITARY STRATEGY. ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, N.J.: PRENTICE-HALL, 1963.
DINERSTEIN, HERBERT S. WAR AND THE SOVIET UNION. NEW YORK: PRAEGER, 1966.
GARTHOFF, RAYMOND L. SOVIET MILITARY POLICY. NEW YORK: PRAEGER, 1966.
HALPERIN, MORTON H. DEFENSE STRATEGIES FOR THE SEVENTIES. BOSTON: LITTLE BROWN AND COMPANY, 1970.
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MACKINTOSH, MALCOLM. STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1962.
WOLFE, THOMAS W. SOVIET STRATEGY AT THE CROSSROADS. CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1964. END TEXT

2. MEMORANDUM WAS ALSO SENT TO DELEGATIONS OF OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH, LIKE U.S., HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING IN STUDY (CANADIAN, DANISH, GERMAN AND UK) AS WELL AS TO IMS, SHAPE, AND SACLANT REP. COVERING LETTER FROM NETHERLANDS DEL. SUGGESTED SEPT. 4 OR 6 AS DATE OF FIRST MEETING (IN BRUSSELS) OF STUDY GROUP. ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER WASHINGTON WILL SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO THIS MEETING AND, IF SO, WHICH DATE IS PREFERRED.
(NOTE: MISSION WILL, OF COURSE, BE HAPPY TO REPRESENT U.S. IF WASHINGTON DOES NOT WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS INITIAL MEETING.) WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE WASHINGTON GUIDANCE CONCERNING ACCEPTABILITY OF ABOVE OUTLINE AS TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THIS STUDY.

3. COMMENT. OUR REACTION IS THAT STUDY AS ENVISIONED BY DUTCH IS FAR TOO BROAD IN SCOPE AND WILL NEED CONSIDERABLE PARING DOWN TO BECOME MANAGEABLE. WE BELIEVE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT A "DESCRIPTION OF OVERALL SOVIET POLITICAL AND MILITARY STRATEGY," AND A "REVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY, INCLUDING THE IMPACT OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY UPON IT," GOES WELL BEYOND WHAT WAS CONTEMPLATED IN THE AGREED MINUTE OF THE ANKARA NPG MINISTERIAL MEETING (NPG/D(73)7), WHICH CALLS ONLY FOR A STUDY OF "WARSAW PACT POLITICO-MILITARY STRATEGY AND MILITARY DOCTRINE FOR THE TACTICAL USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS." IN ADDITION, CONSIDERATION OF "THE IMPACT OF THE CHINESE FACTOR ON SOVIET STRATEGY" WOULD SEEM TO BE RATHER FAR AFIELD FROM THE STUDY CALLED FOR AT ANKARA. RUMSFELD

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